Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 ACDA-19 SAJ-01 OMB-01 AF-10

CU-05 EB-11 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 SCI-06 COME-00

TRSE-00 AEC-11 AECE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SP-03 SS-20 OIC-04 DRC-01 /183 W

----- 102662

O R 211200Z SEP 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8384

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 192

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

USDOCSOUTH NAPLES ITALY

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 5977

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PARM EGEN

SUBJECT: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS-SEPTEMBER 16-20

1. SUMMARY: CSCE HAD A SLOW WEEK, AS SOVIETS TOOK UNYIELDING POSITIONS ON MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY AND HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION (BASKET III). IN AN CONFIDENTIAL

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EFFORT TO INDICATE THE OUTER LIMITS OF THEIR AMBI-

TIONS, THE EC-NINE TABLED ALL THEIR REMAINING DRAFT TEXTS FOR BASKET III, AND ANNOUNCED THAT THEY WOULD NOT INTRODUCE ANY FURTHER PROPOSALS IN THIS AREA. AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON LANGUAGE RECOGNIZING THAT ECONOMIC COOPERATION (BASKET II) SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED IN FULL RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLES GUIDING INTERSTATE RELATIONS, THUS EXTENDING COMPROMISE UNDERSTANDING REACHED EARLIER FOR BASKET III. COORDINATING COMMITTEE HEARD LONG SERIES OF SPEECHES ON CYPRUS PROBLEM, AND GREEK REP SAID GREECE WOULD NOT AGREE TO FINAL DOCUMENTS OR STAGE III UNTIL CYPRUS PROBLEM IS RESOLVED. END SUMMARY

- 2. CYPRUS PROBLEM--CYPRIOT DELEGATION OPENED DISCUSSION OF CYPRUS PROBLEM IN COORDINATING COMMITTEE, FOLLOWED BY GREEK REP WHO SAID GREECE COULD NOT GRANT CONSENSUS ON FINAL DOCUMENTS OR CONSENT TO STAGE III UNTIL CYPRUS SETTLEMENT REACHED. TURKISH REP REPLIED TO GREEK/CYPRIOT ACCUSATIONS, HINTING HE MIGHT QUESTION REPRESENTATIVITY OF CYPRIOT DELEGATION LATER IF NEEDED. OTHER DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING SOVIETS AND EC-9, INDICATED SYMPATHY FOR CYPRUS BUT RECOGNIZED CSCE WAS NOT PROPER FORUM FOR A SOLUTION. USING CYPRUS SITUATION AS RATIONALE, MALTA INTRODUCED PROPOSAL FOR A "MEDITERRANEAN MONITORING COMMITTEE" AND EVENTUAL WITHDRAWAL OF US AND SOVIET FLEETS FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN.
- 3. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--DRAFTING CONTINUED ON PRINCIPLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WITH CONFLICT OVER TREATMENT OF NATIONAL MINORITIES TEMPORARILY REFERRED TO AN INFORMAL WORKING GROUP, SUBCOMMITTEE FOCUSSED ON FINAL SENTENCE OF PRINCIPLE, IN WHICH ISSUE IS SOVIET INSISTENCE ON SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO UN COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. US AND NATO ALLIES HAVE INDICATED THAT A COMPROMISE ACCEPTABLE TO SOVIETS SHOULD BE ACHIEVABLE, BUT NEUTRALS, PARTICULARLY AUSTRIA AND SWITZERLAND, OPPOSE SOVIET DESIRES. PRIOR TO SUBCOMMITTEE DRAFTING ON THIS POINT, SOVIETS TOLD US REFERENCE TO CONENANTS WAS ESSENTIAL FOR MOSCOW. CONFIDENTIAL

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4. MILITARY SECURITY--SOVIET REP GAVE LUNCHEON FOR SMALL GROUP OF NATO REPS, DURING WHICH HE REPEATED SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES (CBMS), APPARENTLY FOR THE BENEFIT OF SOVIET MILITARY COLLEGUES. MAIN POINT OF HIS EXPOSITION WAS THAT SOVIET MILITARY FOUND ALLIED APPROACH UNACCEPTABLE AND MOTIVES SUSPICIOUS. HE SUGGESTED THAT REAL

ALLIED OBJECTIVE WAS TO SECURE INTELLIGENCE THROUGH CBMS. EXTREME NEUTRAL APPROACH TO CBMS WAS OF COURSE UNDERSTANDABLE BUT UNREALISTIC, ACCORING TO SOVIET REP. MAIN EFFORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ITSELF, MOSTLY IN INFORMAL SESSIONS, WAS REVIEW OF REGISTERED TEXTS BASED ON PARAS 22 AND 24 OF HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS. FRENCH CONTINUED TO MENTION THEIR RESERVE ON THIS SECTION OF THE DOCUMENT BUT INDICATED THAT EVENTUALLY THERE WAS A GOOD CHANCE OF CONSENSUS. PROVIDED REFERENCES TO NEGOTIATIONS AND IMPLEMENTATION OF DISARMAMENT MATTERS WERE DELETED. SUBCOMMITTEE SHOWED REAL DETERMINATION TO CLEAN UP REGISTERED TEXTS, AND SOME PROGRESS BY ISOLATING SPECIFIC WORDS WHICH DELEGATIONS FOUND OBJECTIONABLE. IN THE PROCESS A DISCUSSION OF THE NATURE OF THE COMMITMENT TOOK PLACE, REVELAING THAT SOME NEUTRALS WILL TRADE A REALITIVELY WEAK OPERATIVE SECTION IN RETURN FOR A STRONG INTRODUCTORY COMMINMENT. SUBCOMMITTEE AGREED IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO CONTINUE INFORMAL DISCUSSION OF THESE SUBJECTS FOR THE NEXT FEW MEETINGS, IN VIEW OF THE APPARENT IMPASSE ON CBMS.

5. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY--FULL COMMITTEE
AGREED ON A PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH STIPULATING THAT IMA
PLEMENTATION OF COOPERATION IN THIS FIELD SHOULD TAKE
PLACE IN FULL RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLES GUIDING
RELATIONS AMONG PARTICIPATING STATES, ESSENTIALLY
THE SAME LANGUAGE AS WAS AGREED EARLIER TO COVER
AGREEMENTS IN THE HUMANITARIAN FIELD (BASKET III).
COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES SUBCOMMITTEE CAME CLOSE TO FULL
AGREEMENT ON A US PROPOSAL ON ARBITRATION OF COMMERCIAL DISPUTES. THIS LANGUAGE, WHEN REGISTERED, CAN
ALSO BE USED TO COVER DISPUTES ARISING OUT
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OF INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION. SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION CONTINUED ITS EFFORTS TO AGREE ON THE POSSIBILITY FOR DIRECT CONTACTS AMONG THOSE ENGAGED IN INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS. SUBCOMMITTEE ON OTHER ECONOMIC AREAS REGISTERED TWO PARAGRAPHS ON TOURISM, BUT WAS UNABLE TO AGREE ON SEVERAL OTHER PROVOSIONS WHICH RELATE TO FREER MOVEMENT ISSUES. SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE DID NOT MEET.

6. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION--EC-NINE INTRODUCED THEIR REMAINING DRAFT TEXTS IN ALL SUBCOMMITTEES DURING THE WEEK, AND ANNOUNCED THAT THEY WOULD HAVE NO MORE PROPOSALS ON THESE SUBJECTS. ALL NATO DRAFT TEXTS IN BASKET III HAVE NOW BEEN TABLED. HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE HELD INFORMAL GROUP DISCUSSIONS

ON MARRIAGE BETWEEN NATIONALS OF DIFFERENT STATES AND FAMILY REUNIFICATION, BUT MADE NO PROGRESS. INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE DEALT WITH AUDIO-VISUAL INFORMATION IN INFORMAL GROUP MEETINGS, BUT WAS UNABLE TO MOVE BEYOND THE FIRST SENTENCE. CULTURE SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED ITS EFFORTS TOWARD AGREED LANGUAGE ON RELATIVELY NONCONTROVERSIAL SUBJECT OF TRANSLATION OF LITERARY WORKS, BUT REMAINED STALLED ON KEY ISSUE OF ACCESS TO CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS. EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE CONCENTRATED ON KAMOR EAST/WEST DIFFERENCES OVER PREAMBULAR TEXT.

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COMMENT: DESPITE THE COMPROMISE AGREEMENT REACHED LAST SUMMER UNDER WHICH BASKET III AGREEMENTS WILL BE IMPLEMENTED IN FULL RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLES, AND DESPITE THE NEW FLEXIBILITY VEING SHOWN BY THE EC-NINE AND NATO GROUPS, THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT BUDGED FROM THEIR SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS OR THE IDIOSYNCRATIC PROCEDURES ON WHICH THEY INSIST. THE NINE HAVE DROPPED CONFIDENTIAL

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THEIR EARLIER DEMAND FOR DRAFTING OF BASKET III SUBJECTS IN STRICT SEQUENCE, WHICH WAS DESIGNED TO ENSURE THAT ALL SUBJECTS, EVEN THE MOST DIFFICULT ONES, WOULD BE TREATED FULLY. THEY HAVE AGREED THAT PARALLEL DRAFTING CAN TAKE PLACE SIMULTANEOUSLY ON TWO SUBJECTS AT A TIME IN EACH BASKET III SUBCOMMITTEE, A SIGNIFICANT CONCESSION TO THE SOVIETS. THEY HAVE ALSO TABLED STREAMLINED (BUT STILL VERY LENGTHY) DRAFT TEXTS FOR BASKET III, AND HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY WILL MAKE NO FURTHER PROPOSALS IN THIS AREA. THEY HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY CAN ACCEPT VIRTUALLY ANY PROCEDURE FOR MOVING RAPIDLY THROUGH THE SUBJECTS IN BASKET III, PUTTINT ASIDE THE MOST DIFFICULT POINTS FOR LATER RESOLUTION.

8. IN RESPONSE TO THESE STEPS, THE SOVIETS HAVE STOBBORNLY REFUSED TO MOVE AHEAD UNLESS THE WEST ABONDONS ITS POSITIONS. THEY HAVE GONE SO FAR AS TO TAKE THE ABSURD POSITION THAT, WHILE POINTS OF DIFFERENCE COULD BE BRACKETED, ONLY THE SOVIET-PRE-FERRED LANGUAGE COULD BE PLACED WITHIN BRACKETS, WHILE THE WESTERN LANGUAGE COULD NOT REPEAT NOT APPEAR IN PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED TEXTS, EVEN IF BRACKETED. THEY HAVE TAKEN A SIMILAR TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT POSITION ON CBMS. THE NATO CAUCUS HAS RECOGNIZED SOVIET STOBBRONNESS AS THE FOREMOST PROBLEM IN CSCE AT THIS TIME. BUT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO FIND TACTICS FOR DEALING WITH IT. MANY WESTERN DELEGATES ASSUME THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE TAKEN THIS ATTITUDE BECAUSE THEY KNOW THE NATO GROUP HAS BEEN REVIEWING ITS POSI-TIONS. THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT THE SOVIETS WILL ONLY BECOME MORE FLEXIBLE WHEN ALL WESTERN COUNTRIES. INCLUDING THE US, MAKE IT CLEAR THAT A FIRST READING OF ALL BASKET III SUBJECTS WILL BE NECESSARY, AND WE HAVE TRIED TO CONVEY THIS MESSAGE TO THE SOVIET DELGA-TION HERE. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THE GENERAL WESTERN TENDENCY IS TO CONTINUE A FIRM AND PATIENT APPROACH ON

FLEXIBLE IF THE SOVIETS ARE. END COMMENT
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BASKET III, MAKING IT CLEAR THAT THE WEST CAN BE

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